

"Burgess and Maclean fled from Britain at a time when the cold war had reached a peak, when the defection of international scientists from the shelter of Allied Powers had become a tragic commonplace"

The story arrived on a night when the newspapers excoriated that the front page could hold no more.

The *Daily Express*, in common with other newspapers, recording the exploits of a 29-year-old gunman named Poole. Poole had shot a policeman dead and was defying a force of 200 armed officers at his home in Chatham.

Within the hour the pulsating story of the Chatham had yielded place.

The Public Gets a Shock

The following morning, the public already alarmed that atomic scientists—Minut Men, Fuchs and Pontecorvo—given Britain's secrets to Russia, was shocked by the fact that two diplomats had fled the country.

It was that first report in the *Daily Express* omitting the names of the diplomats until the Foreign Office would confirm them.

Scotland Yard officers and French detectives are hunting for two British Government employees who are believed to have left London with the intention of getting to Moscow.

According to a friend, they planned the journey to serve their idealistic purposes.

One report says that the two men were employed by the Foreign Office and there is a possibility that they may have important papers with them.

News of their plan was given to the authorities by the friend, who said they expected him to go with them. They were to go to France as if on holiday, and then make their way behind the Iron Curtain. The friend backed out.

Several experts have flown from London to France, to work with the French police.

All French airports and frontiers are being watched. Plain-clothes men are searching the Montmartre area of Paris, where it is easy for anyone to hide. It is understood the police are watching visitors to the Soviet Embassy in Paris.

In response to inquiries, the Foreign Office made a statement the same morning. It named the diplomats and said they had been missing from their homes for thirteen days. This was the Foreign Office statement:

Two members of the Foreign Service have been missing from their homes since May 25. One is Mr. D. D. Maclean, the other Mr. G. F. de M. Burgess.

All possible inquiries are being made. It is known that they went to France a few days ago.

Mr. Maclean had a breakdown a year ago owing to overstrain, but was believed to have fully recovered.

Owing to their being absent without leave, both have been suspended with effect from June 1.

All that day and night many of Britain's newspapers investigated the backgrounds, careers, and movements of the two men. Next morning the *Daily Express* published its findings.

Two missing Foreign Office officials, 38-year-old Donald Stuart Maclean, head of the American Department, and

40-year-old Guy Burgess, a 1940s war-time Soviet Secret Service agent, were traced to Paris yesterday but are now believed by the French police to have flown on to France.

Telegrams signed with the name of Maclean and Burgess were received at their home in England last night. The wire received by Mrs. Virginia Maclean, who is expecting a child next week, was 182 words long.

The telegram came from Paris. French detectives checked them and do not believe that Maclean and Burgess were the senders. And the Foreign Office could not say whether the wires were authentic.

Mr. Dean Acheson, U.S. Secretary of State, told Senators yesterday it would be a very serious matter if the two missing British Foreign Office officials proved to have Russian sympathies.

And Senator Owen Brewster remarked that Mr. Acheson was believed to have a thorough knowledge of Soviet-American exchanges on such subjects as the North Atlantic Pact, the Korean war and the Japanese Peace Treaty.

Atlantic Pact discussions have covered some strategic plans.

As the facts piled up day by day and were revealed in Britain's newspapers, all the world wondered:

Why should Donald Maclean, charming, energetic and successful, walk out of his important post at the Foreign Office walk out on his young wife, expecting a baby, for duty's sake, as it appeared, this 36-year-old man, who had left the comfort of a £2,500 (£18,200) home in Cranleigh, Surrey, which he had moved into only seven months before?

What possessed him to do all that? Something, it became plain, that Burgess had told him. Burgess landed in Britain from nine months' service in America 18 days before their flight. Almost at once he tried to get in touch with Maclean.

What had Burgess learned in America? What had he seen? Further, learned in London?

Despite the evidence of past ill health and instability, he appeared more to the mystery than any shattered or faded, neurotic and perverted personalities.

For Burgess and Maclean fled from Britain at a time when the cold war had reached a peak, when the defection of international scientists from the shelter of Allied Powers had become a tragic commonplace.

"Storehouse of Secrets"

Could it be that even in the most precious storehouse of secrets, the Foreign Office, there were men who would betray their country?

The official answers did not come for four years and four months. They came—scandal—from the Foreign Office yesterday, one Sunday.

And they came that Sunday, September 10, 1955, only because Vladimir Petrov, a Soviet spy who had fought at home in Australia, had published evidence about the diplomatic activities.

After a national outcry for more information, the Foreign Office on September 23 published a report concerning the disappearance of two former Foreign Office officials.

Rebecca West, the novelist, who is an authority on the

Burgess had managed to acquire the blueprints of the 25 billion-dollar psychological warfare planned by Washington to reach behind the Iron Curtain

subtleties of treason had summed up this White Paper as "a number of holes tied together with words" and "empty to the point of impudence." The main revelations were these:

1. Burgess and Maclean were long-term Soviet agents.
2. Maclean was suspected and was under surveillance before he fled. Burgess was under scrutiny on the general ground of his suitability.
3. Maclean vanished on the very day—May 25, 1951—that authority had been given to interrogate him.

In the light of these admissions we might look back to some typical questions and answers which emerged from the House of Commons during the Four Years Silence.

Mr. Attlee's Socialist Government was in power when the diplomats vanished. Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Foreign Secretary, stated on June 11, 1951, that neither Maclean nor Burgess had been dismissed and that the question of their dismissal would depend on the result of inquiries.

Mr. (now Sir Anthony) Eden, with more ministerial experience of the Foreign Office than any other living man, spoke of "very wide anxiety outside the country" and asked Mr. Morrison to keep the House informed of developments.

A Link With Russia—

Asked if there was any evidence to connect the disappearance of the men with Soviet Russia, Mr. Morrison said: "We should all be wise not to prejudge anything one way or the other."

On a discussion about Maclean's breakdown in Cairo, Mr. Eden put in: "Mr. Libby allowed to say that Mr. Maclean was serving under me at the time in Egypt, that in all the reports I received the work he did there was very good indeed."

But throughout the period that Maclean was in Cairo—from November 7, 1948, to May 11, 1950—Anthony Eden was out of office. Mr. Ernest Bevin was the Foreign Secretary in that period.

In October 1951 Sir Winston (then Mr.) Churchill's Tory Government was returned. Mr. Eden succeeded Mr. Morrison as Foreign Secretary. The men who had asked the first awkward questions were now having to answer them.

On July 2, 1952, Mr. Anthony Nutting, Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, announced in reply to a question that the appointments of Burgess and Maclean had at last been terminated on June 1, 1952.

These questions followed:

Lieut.-Colonel Lipton: Can the hon. Gentleman explain the reason for this extraordinary delay of one year in finally deciding to discontinue the services of these two men?

Mr. Nutting: It is because the search for them was continuing. Indeed, the search is still continuing. But, having been absent without leave for a year, my right hon. Friend has considered that as a disciplinary measure their appointments should be terminated and that they should be dismissed the Service.

Lieut.-Colonel Lipton: Is it to be understood that disciplinary measures can be applied to absconding Government civil servants only after they have absconded for 12 months? Is that an essential qualification which must be taken into account before people are given the sack?

Mr. Nutting: No, sir.

Mr. Nally: Could the hon. Gentleman confirm to me that it is a fact that prior to the retirement of these gentlemen they were in fact already being considered by the Foreign Office as not fully suitable for the office which each of them held?

Mr. Nutting: That is a difficult question and what is most important is that it happened at a period when the Foreign Office was not responsible. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman could address his question to his right hon. Friend the Member for Lymington South (Mr. H. Morrison).

The Foreign Office clearly shouid be asked to clarify the question of whether there had been any kind of warning to the men before they fled.

On July 10, 1952, on the question of a further inquiry being given:

Colonel John Compton Duncan (Lab.): Mr. Speaker, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, will he recommend the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the probable fact-finding work of a committee of inquiry into the appearance of Messrs. Burgess and Maclean, and all the circumstances connected therewith?

Mr. Nutter: I am not in a position to say whether the security authorities would be asked to set up a Department concerned with the appearance of Messrs. Maclean and Burgess, and the investigations are still continuing. I am satisfied that nothing further could be done at the present time. I am not in a position to say whether a Royal Commission or other body to inquire into the matter.

On October 22, 1952, Mr. Nutting said that an open inquiry could not be held without revealing confidential details and methods. But such a disclosure would be prejudicial to the public interest.

But when the Government's own inquiries were not giving what was wanted, it was possible to set up a commission of inquiry. The commission was set up and its inquiry was carried out as follows:

Throughout the Four Years Silence the investigation of the Daily Telegraph and the Ministry of Defence was carried out with criticism from interested parties and with a flow from the best people met with official displeasure.

In November 1952, for example, the Foreign Office was pressed to say whether the official who had appointed Maclean and Burgess would suffer disciplinary action. The answer from Mr. Nutting was: "No."

Question: A Witch Hunt?

Colonel Compton Duncan: I am sure that the Government will further to the disfigure the public mind and the country by being shielded.

Mr. Nutting: I am sure that when the Government is not prepared to find itself to be a witch hunt, it is not a witch hunt.

But consider what Burgess and Maclean had done. They had been over the top of the Iron Curtain for a year.

On Burgess' departure his Government had been told that he had managed to acquire the blueprints of a 25 billion-dollar psychological warfare planned by Washington to reach behind the Iron Curtain.

"Maclean... was able to tell the Soviet regime how the western allies planned and worked together, and how best their relations could be damaged and suspicion replace goodwill"

On Maclean: "His hand fingered all the crucial inner wheels of the western alliance. He was able to tell the Soviet regime the western allies planned and worked together, and how their relations could be damaged and suspicion replace goodwill."

The *Daily Express* took the view that nobody should be held when the interests of British security were at stake. It would be better to reveal all weaknesses in the Foreign Office and end them than risk further disaster.

The *Daily Express* even offered £1,000 [\$2,800] reward for evidence which would clear up the mystery—when it was a mystery. And, in April 1953, when there was speculation

on the role of the two men in the new Kremlin office, the *Daily Express* renewed its £1,000 offer.

In these pages the story of Burgess and Maclean is told as it was unfolded by the reporters of Fleet Street.

It was unfolded in the face of repeated refusal to deny or confirm by the Foreign Office—which knew much of the truth all the time.

And, knowing much of the truth, the security authorities for that citadel of security bungled the job of detaining Burgess and Maclean.

How and why?

Those questions probe the essence of the Great Spy Scandal.

CHAPTER II

This Was Burgess

THE VANISHING TRICK of Burgess and Maclean was, from the start, a source of wonder and contradictory speculation. It came essential to explore what was known of their characters and histories.

Guy Francis de Moncy Burgess, thick-set, handsome, blue-eyed bachelor, was born in Devonport, the son of Malcolm Kingsford de Moncy Burgess, a naval lieutenant.

He lost his father when young, his mother got married again to Lieut. Colonel Jack Bassett, and this couple, now elderly, live in Arlington House, overlooking London's Green Park.

Burgess was intended for the Navy and from Eton—in January 1925—he went to the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth. He was found to have defective eyesight and he returned to London in July 1927.

His master, Mr. E. V. Dobbs, had written to him: "I am most awfully sorry to hear of the way your career in the Navy has been made impossible by your eyesight. I shall be delighted to have you back again."

Burgess passed on to Cambridge where he eventually took his first in History at Trinity College. That was in 1933—but before then he had met Donald Stuart Maclean.

Maclean, son of the Liberal leader, Sir Donald Maclean, tall and sandy-haired, habby but imposing, was reading languages at Trinity Hall.

They became friends. They were both members of a Left-wing circle. And Maclean was to say later that Burgess had strong influence on him at that time.

Burgess rolled Communism round his tongue and spouted at anybody who would listen.

He goaded his friends with visions of the wrath to come when he and the Party had their way. But with enough liquor, he would concede dispensations to a favoured few.

He drank anything, he was careless about his appearance to the point of grubbiness; he talked everlastingly, and—they say—brilliantly. And—they say—smokingly.

He was a destroyer of other men's faiths. His own was Marxism.

Mr. Herbert Morrison, who was Foreign Secretary at the time of the diplomats' defection, has said since the revelation that they were long-term agents.

The fact that a person as a young man may have had

Communist political opinions at the University is no persuasive evidence that here a Communist infiltrated spy life.

True, the political climate of the thirties should be considered. There was mass unemployment, often with no leading hunger marchers, narrow, a smouldering feeling of rotting. Many idealistic young men found their latent answers.

But nearly all tempered their views with a measure of patriotism. Not so Burgess and Maclean.

And the Foreign Office appeared to have had no knowledge of the great poached man at Cambridge, who had vanished for the White Rabbit.

"Investigation into Burgess's past has since shown that the like Maclean was through a period of Communist leanings while at Cambridge, and that he got on to the Soviet side but outwardly renounced it. No trace either of him or of his subsequent career of direct participation in the activities of Left-wing organisations."

The best comment on this came in advance from Mr. Eden, who as Foreign Secretary in October 1952 was asked whether he was satisfied that the Foreign Office records and reports on the two men had been an accurate assessment.

Mr. Eden replied: "The view of information subsequently received from outside sources clearly does not present the full picture."

It was thus necessary for outside sources to fill in the full picture.

Burgess did two years' post-graduate study at Cambridge and then joined the B.B.C. Talks Department. He now announced that he was a fascist and that he had attended the Nuremberg Rally of Hitler Youth.

Cyril Connolly, the author and critic, wrote of these articles on the diplomat in the *Sunday Times*, which were later expanded into *The Moscow Document*, published by the Catherine Press. He considered "possible explanation of the 'Fascist' phase."

Burgess and Maclean were men of great intelligence, with a talent and a brilliant intellect.

One day Burgess's friend, the writer, shared with

"Guy had confided to a friend that he was not only a member but a secret agent of the Communist Party"

impressed Guy had confided to him that he was not only a member but a secret agent of the Communist Party and he had then invited him to join in his work.

His friend had reacted with concern and the novelist felt that Burgess's reaction was suddenly explained: as a secret agent he must have been told to investigate the British Fascists and he hoped to pass as one.

You would have thought that enough had been said by Burgess at this time to make him a doubtful recruit for Britain's inner bastions.

A "Secret" Job for Burgess

But not so. When war-time Burgess walked straight into an off-shoot section of that secret department known as M.I.6 [British agency for counterintelligence overseas]. He was given a civilian administrative job in what was known as the Special Organisation Executive.

This section dealt with sabotage in organised territories, dropping agents by parachute, linking up with the Maquis and other resistance forces and with providing weapons.

Burgess himself did nothing adventurous in this line; he was an organiser. The Special Organisation Executive got so big that it required a general administration. It no longer existed but its records are held by M.I.6.

While in Ministry Intelligence Burgess discussed his work with a close friend, thereby breaking the rules of his Department. He said he was also concerned with the flow of secret information through Swiss channels.

Further details of his wartime job were given in the *Sunday Chronicle* of June 17, 1951.

His job called for frequent trips to the headquarters in Buckinghamshire of the Political Warfare Executive, which ran the underground movements on the Continent.

He soon made a name as a keen young official and became one of the few men able to contact the Political Warfare Executive without question.

He had such a good knowledge of sabotage, propaganda and spying that important security men kept in close touch with him.

The knowledge that Burgess was on secret work was available at the time to any agent with eyes to read. For a report of a court case appeared in the *London Star* on September 10, 1940.

He was charged at Marlborough Street with being under the influence of drink while driving a War Office car. The charge was dismissed on payment of costs after the defence solicitor had said:

"I do not want to introduce too much hush-hush but the accused is doing rather confidential work which necessitates travelling to a station 30 miles out of London.

"He has been working 14 hours a day and he had just been in an air raid."

In 1941, the following year, Burgess rejoined the B.B.C. and remained three years in European propaganda departments. Both before and during the war Burgess was frank with B.B.C. contacts about his Left Wing opinions.

This is how Lord Hailsham put it in the *Sunday Graphic* of June 17, 1951:

"I knew Burgess. I met him at the B.B.C. when I made

several broadcasts in the programme. He was a law-abiding minister. He was the producer. I thought him a sensitive and civilised person.

"But he made no secret of his pronounced Left Wing opinions and frequently expressed his dislike of the Right Wing elements of the Labour Party.

"The last thing I should have suggested was loyalty to his country. But surely it is the duty of security officers to make inquiries.

"Did not the Foreign Office know our political sympathies?

The answer clearly was no.

In his propaganda work Burgess was all involved with secret organisations. The No. 10 did not suspect him. He had the job, for example, of removing anti-aircraft guns from London. We were training for sabotage.

In connection with his long and improving relations with the Russians and the Poles, Burgess was sent on missions to Moscow. He started out with a well-known and respected expert on Russian affairs.

His companion was Lord Hailsham. Burgess went further than Washington on the route to Moscow in 1942.

And in 1942 he was accepted by the American Council on temporary basis. He joined the New York staff and was put on the Permanent Staff in January 1947.



GUY BURGESS
his passport photograph

"Burgess had been guilty of indiscreet talk about secret matters of which he had official knowledge. For this he was severely reprimanded"

But before Burgess was put on the Permanent Staff of the Foreign Office he had been selected for a post that required exercise of discretion. In 1946 he became assistant private secretary to the Minister of State, the late Mr. Hector McNeil when Mr. McNeil was No. 2 at the Foreign Office.

Mr. Morrison, questioned as Foreign Secretary about Burgess's professional association with Mr. McNeil, said on July 19, 1951:

"Mr. Burgess was appointed to the office of the Minister of State on 31st December, 1946. He was transferred to the Foreign Department on 1st November, 1948.

The transfer took place in the normal course of routine



BURGESS AT ETON: His eyesight wasn't good enough for a naval career

and was intended to give Mr. Burgess experience in a political department."

Mr. Morrison added, "At that time there was nothing adverse, as far as we were aware, against Mr. Burgess."

But four years later Mr. Morrison, in Opposition, was to say: "I am inclined to think that in a strictly limited number of cases—for as a whole our Civil Service is very fine, indeed successive efforts are made to protect men against the natural consequences of incompetence or other faults.

"Quite apart from the question of improper imparting of official information, the conduct of these two men in the course of their duties warranted the requirement of their resignations or dismissal from the Service at an earlier stage."

Back in 1937 Burgess had formed a friendship with Jack Hewitt, a pudgy, bespectacled clerk and former baller dancer. For 14 years they shared various flats in London. The last flat they took was in New Bond Street, W.1., and this was Burgess's home when he disappeared.

They moved into this three-room flat early in 1949. A

picture of life in the flat was given by a reporter who came on solicitors (lawyers) representing the owners of the *Sunday Dispatch* of July 15, 1951; the reporter quoted in one of the firm of solicitors—

"Soon after Burgess moved in there were complaints from other tenants of rowdy parties, shouts, screams and lights throughout the night in the Burgess flat."

"He seemed to have a considerable number of girlfriends and they were always all male. When we saw him he seemed to have some part of his body in bandages. Sometimes it was his head, another time his arm would be in a sling."

"I told him about the complaints and he promised to be quieter in future. He explained that this was not possible, a lot of entertaining, but would tell his visitors to make less noise."

"I had trouble with him" too, in other ways. He was a bad payer, and finally payments were made for him by a firm of Holborn solicitors.

"For a while things were quiet. Then one of our tenants in the flat above rang us in a panic. Early one Sunday morning she had been awakened by her baby crying, who was in tears and trembling."

"The noise from the flat below was almost indescribable. Soon afterwards an ambulance drew up and Burgess, with his head and arm bandaged, was taken to hospital on a stretcher."

"Quite obviously there had been a first-class fight. I rang the hospital and was told that he had a fractured skull, a broken jaw, and arm injuries, and was on the danger list."

Jack Hewitt said later: "After a party at the flat that night Burgess was thrown down the stairs by a fellow diplomat. This was not Maclean."

Charges of Drunken Driving

After a spell in hospital Burgess went with his mother to Ireland, and appeared in the Dublin District Court charged with driving a car while drunk. This is an account of the proceedings from the *London Evening Standard* of March 5, 1949:

Charges of driving a car while drunk and driving without reasonable care against Guy Burgess, an official of the British Foreign Office whose address was given as the Reform Club, Pall Mall, were dismissed in the Dublin District Court.

"Burgess in evidence said that he had been in Ireland, and after some days in hospital he had persuaded his mother to come to Ireland, and they went to Wicklow to Wicklow."

"Dismissing the charge, which arose out of a collision in Grafton Street on Wednesday night, the magistrate, Mr. O'Connell, said that Burgess seems to be a brilliant who appeared to be over-rough."

The White Paper records that in 1950 the security authorities informed the Foreign Office that in 1949 while on holiday abroad Burgess had been guilty of indiscreet talk about secret matters of which he had official knowledge. For this he was severely reprimanded.

SS

"In August 1950, Burgess was appointed Second Secretary at the British Embassy in Washington. He hated Americans. Before he went to Washington, Burgess often spoke of this."

If Burgess talked indiscreetly, he was plainly not the ordinary type of trained spy. And you might have expected that he would be regarded as pretty valueless to his Russian masters.

But Rebecca West has pointed out that Burgess may have played a clever role, talk of secret matters, behave indiscreetly—and people will never suspect that you are a spy.

And what then? Why, in August 1950, Burgess was appointed Second Secretary at the British Embassy in Washington.

His views on America and the Americans are therefore pertinent. They come to light in this quotation from the Hon. (now Sir) Harold Nicolson, author and critic, former M.P. and former diplomat in the *Daily Express* of June 14, 1951:

"He hated Americans. Before he went to Washington, Burgess often spoke of this, and I told him he would change his mind when he met the Americans."

Burgess told his friend, Hewitt, before he sailed: "If I don't like America, I shall make a personal friend of Paul Robeson and get thrown out on two counts"—Robeson being both a Negro and a Communist sympathiser.

Burgess's Record in the U.S.

Burgess was almost as good as his word. In so far as a diplomat can be thrown out of a friendly country, he was thrown out of America.

Within six months his telegrams were suspect as biased, he was not popular, he drank heavily, and in March 1951 Governor John Battle of Virginia complained to the State Department that Burgess, in a coupe, had been stopped at 80 m.p.h.—three times in an hour.

The third time followed an accident. Burgess was not driving. A hitch-hiker he had picked up, a man without a car licence, was at the wheel.

An English visitor reported Burgess for anti-British talk. And then—as the White Paper relates—he was reprimanded for leaving confidential papers around.

The then Ambassador, Sir Oliver Franks, asked the Foreign Office to remove him. He was removed. He arrived back in London on May 7, 1951, a year after Maclean had returned from Cairo.

Two days after Burgess returned in the *Queen Mary* he met Cyril Connolly and told him that Washington was "absolutely frightful" because of Senator McCarthy.

"Terrible atmosphere," said Burgess, "all these purges." Knowing that his Foreign Office days might be ending, Burgess applied for a post on a Fleet Street newspaper.

He was interviewed in the Foreign Office and asked to resign. The White Paper says that steps were being considered in the event that he refused to resign.

While the steps were being considered—Burgess vanished with Maclean.

For a summing up of the character of Guy Burgess let us turn to that interview given by Harold Nicolson to the *Daily Express*.

"He publicly announced his sympathies with Communism and yet he heartily disliked the Russians. He thought they were cruel and spoiled a great deal."

"He was a most indiscreet talker. He said anything that came into his head, and cared nothing about who heard him."

"Of course he was a heavy drinker. He drank anything

in any order, and when he had to touch his eyes was of food."

He cared nothing about clothes, the way he walked. Despite that he was charming, and his mind was sharp. When he was with the B.B.C. Talks Department he did a "Week in Westminster" for them. He was first, and then "That was how he met Hector McCall, who later was Minister of State, made him his private secretary."

When Burgess was sober he was charming, told magnificent tales. When he was drunk he brooded, told nonsense. He was a kind man, and despite his weakness, I don't think he would do anything dishonourable. But he was so terribly impetuous.

Rebecca West summed up Burgess in the *London Evening Standard* at once obviously well-informed and only slightly sure he had walked on his own very long legs.

She wrote of his "fashing smile, the inner secret delight in mischief and destruction, there and everywhere in his work of raising."

She added: "Both Maclean and Burgess were homosexuals. Other homosexuals had come to their aid. They were not. But it made it still more difficult for the Security Services."

Other views of Burgess give the picture of a man who was fond of luxury and display, of sales, of champagne and fast cars. He liked to breakfast on caviar at the club.

He had undisciplined talents of a high order, but no diplomatic. He was an expert for hours on medieval languages, and especially knowledgeable in French.

His reading was voluminous, but he was not a biographer, whether of Napoleon Bonaparte or George Washington of England.

Talk of Lenin and Stalin

He never showed earlier in work which he would talk for hours of Lenin and Stalin.

Mr. A. H. Allen, the poet, was friend of Burgess's. He wrote to *Daily Express* report of Burgess's death on June 12, 1951. Burgess was an open Communist since 1930, in New York, where I spent six months of the year. We met several times.

While he was at the Embassy in Washington, he was pro-Communist.

"We met last in March this year. We talked of Lenin and Stalin and Numa Pompilius. He was a great talker. I asked him if he had been arrested and was not of diplomatic immunity."

The Foreign Office asked to come on the ground made by Burgess to Allen, said: "Burgess was a temporary recruit during the war. He was taken on the permanent staff in 1947. He was not on the usual routine of screening."

Not unnaturally, there were Members of Parliament who early opportunities for disclosure and exposure. Mr. Morrison, the Minister of the Home Office, said: "I am not a Member of Parliament. I am not a Member of Parliament. I am not a Member of Parliament."

Mr. de Chateaufort, the Minister of the Home Office, said: "I am not a Member of Parliament. I am not a Member of Parliament. I am not a Member of Parliament."

Despite Maclean's British ideas he went forward with steady increases of stature in his diplomatic career

of the affiliations of members of the Foreign Service like Burgess, who joined the Service during the war when they were fighting as allies of Soviet Russia? Had he considered that aspect of the matter?

Mr. Morrison: Yes, Sir. Security checks are made on members of the Foreign Service on their appointment and, if it proves necessary, from time to time.

Mr. Duncan Sandys: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether, when the last security check-up of officials took place, the Foreign Office were satisfied that Mr. Burgess had no Communist associations?

Mr. Morrison: I did not imply that there is a regular and systematic week-by-week check-up of all Foreign Office officials and I should not like it to have come to that. Indeed, I do not think that the Department deserves such a check-up.

When, finally, the affair came right into the open Mr. Morrison revealed that he had not been quite as complacent as that.

He said in September, 1955, referring to the "excessively big job" of a Foreign Secretary: "I made a suggestion that there should be a suitable form of inquiry into the work of the Foreign Secretary and the general organisation of the office." The days after Mr. Sandys—who is now Minister of Housing—

ing—questioned Mr. Morrison, he was again to question Kenneth Younger, Socialist Minister of State.

He asked: Had the Government been aware of Burgess' associations with Communist circles?

Said Mr. Younger: "The Government were not aware of Mr. Burgess having associations with Communist circles, and which threw doubt on his reliability."

Question: There had recently been a Government purge of Civil Servants with Communist affiliations. How did Burgess escape the scrutiny? Was nobody in the Foreign Office subjected to the scrutiny?

Mr. Younger: "It would not be correct to assume that a security check was made on Mr. Burgess some time ago and it was negative in its result."

But as we found Guy Burgess was ferocious and a little heavy drinker and a reckless driver and a little bit of a rowdy, a pervert, a most enthusiastic Communist and a friend of Communists and a spy and a secret agent.

This was the man who, landing from America, was very anxious to get in touch with Donald Maclean. Why was it that he told Maclean precipitated the action? What had they in common?

To estimate that vital factor, the similarity of temperament, Donald Duart Maclean.

CHAPTER II

This Was Maclean

DONALD DUART MACLEAN was 38 years old on the day he vanished. He was a son of one of the most illustrious families in the country.

His father, Sir Donald Maclean, first entered Parliament as a Liberal member for Bath in 1906. After the "coupon" election of 1918, when Asquith and many of his lieutenants were ousted, Sir Donald became chairman of the 18 Independent Liberals, later to be known as the "Free Press".

When Ramsay MacDonald formed the National Government in 1931, Sir Donald became President of the Board of Education, and, after the election that year, retained the post and gave a seat in the Cabinet.

His personal prestige was immenso, so that when he died in 1932 King George V sent this telegram to his widow: "I regret not only the loss of one of my Ministers but also of one of a quarter of a century has been a distinguished and respected figure in the political life of this country."

Thus the defection of Donald Duart Maclean was a grief and misery not only to his family but to all those who admired Donald Maclean and his activities in public life.

The White Paper asserts: "Since Maclean's disappearance the examination of his background has revealed that during his student days at Cambridge he had expressed Communist sympathies. But there was no evidence that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party and indeed, on leaving the University, he had outwardly renounced his earlier Communist views."

And Lord Reading, Joint Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs,

stated boldly in October, 1952: "Mr. Maclean performed his official duties satisfactorily up to the date of his disappearance."

We shall see. Despite Maclean's British ideas he went forward with steady increases of stature in his diplomatic career, until he was appointed Head of the American Department in the Foreign Office.

Maclean was posted to Paris in 1938. It was his first job abroad. He was regarded as a "golden boy" of the Foreign Service, but he drank. He said he needed the occasional "orgy."

In the routine of many young diplomats in Paris, he spent his evenings on the Left Bank with arty characters. At the Café de Flore he met Melinda Marling. She was 27 years old, smart, dark and attractive American living with her mother. She had a job with the American Embassy in Paris. She was out of the common. She smoked cigars. She had a back room of solid comfort.

War came. And in 1940, with the Germans moving towards him, Donald Maclean married Melinda Marling.

Before they wed she wrote "Paris in the Night" as revealed by Geoffrey Hoare, Paris Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, in his book *The Maclean Maclean* (published by Cassell).

She wrote: "If you do not mind me asking you, why don't you have a little home? I am sure you will be able to get safely to bed."

Maclean's friends hoped that the marriage would steady

57

Macleán was secretary of the Combined Policy Committee on Atomic Developments, with a pass which admitted him to the Atomic Energy Commission office at any time of the day or night

him. It comforted him financially, but it didn't steady him. Macleán's father had died in 1932, leaving £24,126 [\$67,552.80], all his estate to his widow, Lady Macleán, for life and thence between his five children. Lady Macleán is still alive.

And Macleán was not earning more than £625 [\$1,750] a year when he married.

Melinda's father, Francis Marling, was a Chicago oil man. She had been a legatee of her uncle, a Mr. Goodlet, and, at the time of her marriage, had just drawn a portion of that inheritance.

In 1945, on the written request of Donald Macleán, his wife was given control of her affairs by her step-father, Mr. Charles Dunbar. Among the funds handed over was a parcel of securities worth £9,000 [\$25,000].

And it was Mrs. Macleán who raised £2,000 [\$5,600] on her American securities to pay the deposit for the house at Tatsfield.

In 1940, as the Germans took over Paris, Macleán and his wife travelled back to England in a collier, and from then until 1944, with a break of seven months when Mrs. Macleán visited her relatives in America, the Macleáns lived in wartime London.

Macleán was a split personality, working hard, and drinking hard. He was popular, his wife was shy and retiring. And the marriage was proving unhappy.

Mrs. Macleán was doubly pleased when, in 1944, Macleán was promoted, and then posted to Washington. It was another chance to see her family, who had yet to meet her husband.

Both boys of the Macleán marriage were born in New York. But the marriage was no happier. Macleán chose to live apart from his wife for much of the time. He had a bachelor flat in Washington, she lived with her family in New York. Macleán was drinking harder than ever.

Yet he was put into positions of responsibility, calling—especially in wartime—for the utmost reliability.

Available: U.S. Atomic Secrets

He held one position of extraordinary responsibility: he was secretary of the Combined Policy Committee on Atomic Developments, with a pass which admitted him to the Atomic Energy Commission office at any time of the day or night.

Nevertheless, Cyril Connolly stated, he was several times reported for the careless handling of secret documents.

Now consider this report from the Washington correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, published on July 17, 1951:

Mr. Donald Macleán, the missing British Diplomat, was a member of the committee which controlled the wartime exchange between the U.S. and its partners in the development of the atom bomb, the State Department said today.

The Washington correspondent of the *Daily Express* wrote:

Donald Macleán was head of Chancery in Washington, the man who decides who sees the telegrams, and head of the American desk in London, the man who drafts and sees the telegrams as they go.

No wonder that when he disappeared behind the Iron Curtain the then U.S. Secretary of State Mr. Dean Acheson exclaimed: "My God, he knew everything."

Macleán took his secret knowledge from Washington to

Cairo where he was appointed Counselor in 1948, at the unusually early age of 35.

In January 1949, while Macleán was in Cairo, Egyptian security authorities received a report that certain German office information had leaked to Russia some years earlier.

This was stated by the White Paper, which stated further that the field of suspicion was narrowed to two "persons" by mid-April 1951 and to Macleán in the following May 1951.

As all the world now knows, on the day that Mr. Herbert Morrison, then Foreign Secretary, gave authority for Macleán to be interrogated, he vanished.

The inquiries, which missed Burgess, together, were not narrowing down to Macleán over a period of two years and four months.

We shall see how Macleán behaved in his hour, and we shall wonder at the sheer tolerance of the Egyptian police and the security authorities.

In Cairo Macleán was known to meeting so far as his dependents. He had confided with a German agent, with a British agent, and he had to be given police protection.

There were Soviet agents in Cairo at the time, too, as was based on an import-export company dealing with Germany. The police knew it, because the agent worked as a consultant overseas and as company director in order to attract important guests.

Did Macleán attend reception given by the German commercial company? An Egyptian official told the *Daily Express*: "Of course."

And the chief director of the company was a German, in Egypt in January 1951, because he was wanted as a member of the *Rosenkrantz* firm, secret army intelligence.

"Scandal" in Cairo

In Cairo in 1950 there had come a first-class scandal, the story of the five days' unauthorized absence of Mr. Macleán.

At the beginning of May, when Macleán was in Cairo, he came out to Cairo to stay with them. One evening, he had organised a kind of surprise party, to be to call on his friends, who had a house on the bank of the Nile at Helwan, some 15 miles from Cairo.

She hired a felucca, one of the picturesque but slow, wide-sailed Nile boats, in which eight of them, and the boatman, set off for Helwan. There was a fire on the board, for they expected to have dinner with their friend, but quite too far off.

All might have gone well, had it not been for the storm, which drove the felucca, instead of taking some hours, it eventually required nearly a day, and when they reached Helwan, Donald was dangerously ill, and indeed, faintly, seriously.

They landed once to get water, the way was blocked in a first-class hotel, and the boatman, who might have strangled him, the first night, stayed.

At 2 a.m. the felucca was found, and the boatman, who was an armed man, was found, and the boatman, who was a British Counselor in Cairo, had been found.

"Donald sprang at him, wrested the rifle from him, and

Maclean returned to the Foreign Office for duty—and was promptly appointed Head of the American Department!

and began to swing it wildly round his head—threatening only in a kind of drunken fun to smash the ghaffir's skull. Another member of the party, also a Secretary at the Embassy, tried to restrain Donald and to take the weapon from him. Donald refused to give it up, and the two men struggled for it, slipped and rolled down the bank on to the rudimentary wooden jetty, where they landed with Donald on top and the rifle in between them—and the other man broke his leg.

"Transporting the injured man, who was in great pain, back to Cairo provided a difficult problem, for the friends on whom they had intended to call refused to open the door to them."

Two months later Maclean exceeded even his own standards of riotous conduct.

A Cocktail Party—and What Followed

Geoffrey Hoare's account, to be quoted later in the House of Commons, was this:

"Donald had a writer friend of his earlier days staying with him, an uninvited and unwanted guest so far as Melinda was concerned, who became his drinking companion; neither really required encouragement."

"On the evening of Monday, May 8, the Macleans and their two guests were invited to a cocktail party and later to an evening party."

"All four went to the cocktail party but afterwards Melinda, who was feeling unwell—she was again pregnant and again to have a miscarriage—went back to bed, the friend went off to an engagement of his own, and Donald and Harriet went on to the other party."

"Around 2 a.m. he returned, woke up his friend, who had come in earlier and gone to bed, and they went off together in search of amusement."

"They visited a cabaret or two and then, just as dawn was breaking, knocked violently on the door of a flat occupied by another member of the Embassy in a large apartment house not far from the American Embassy."

"Much against his will, their friend let them in and they demanded drinks. Eventually, realising there was little more he could do, he found them a bottle of whisky and returned to bed."

"When he got up the next morning, they were still there, very drunk, so he left them and went off to the Embassy."

"Some time during the day they sobered up just sufficiently to remember that a girl who worked as librarian at the American Embassy and whom they had met at a party a few days before, had a flat in the same building."

"There was no drink left in the flat they were then occupying, so they staggered up the stairs, knocked at the door, pushed their way past the astonished *suffragi*, and took possession of the otherwise unoccupied apartment."

"They helped themselves to what liquor they could find and then proceeded to break up the furniture."

"Content with their work, they returned to Donald's colleague's flat, collapsed on to a bed and again fell asleep."

"It was there that Melinda found them in the early evening after various telephone calls had established where they had got to."

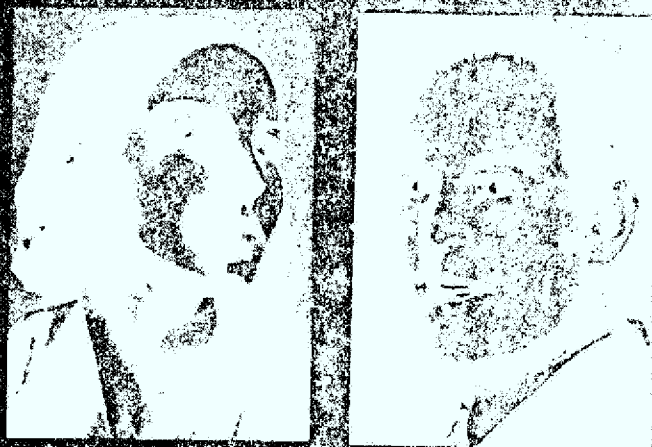
"With Harriet's help she half-carried, half-dragged a com-

pletely sodden Donald down the stairs and in a taxi cab, and drove him home. Harriet then went back and, with the help of the *suffragi*, removed the friend and took him home too."

Mrs. Maclean called next day on the Ambassador, Sir Ronald Campbell, and interceded for her husband. He was sent home at once on sick leave. And he returned to live for a while with his mother, Lady Maclean, in London.

His mother never ceased to believe in him, and in that connection Rebecca West has written: "Maclean was on the most affectionate terms with certain members of his family, and these relatives were genuinely astonished when he was first put to them after his departure that he had been a Soviet agent."

"Throughout 20 years he had kept up between them and himself an unbroken barrier of deceit."



MRS. MELINDA MACLEAN

DONALD MACLEAN

she was American

on early picture

While Maclean lived with his mother this summer night, he was described as looking "as if he had spent the morning sitting up in a tunnel." He visited a woman psychiatrist to be treated for his "breakdown."

Geoffrey Hoare disclosed a letter from Mrs. Maclean to her sister, saying:

"Donald is still pretty confused and vague about himself and his desires, but I think when he gets settled he will find a new security and peace. I hope so. He hasn't had any drinking bouts since I have been back, but I can see that the root of the trouble is still not cleared away."

"He is still going to R. (the psychiatrist), however, and is definitely better. She is still baffled about the horrors and side which comes out when he is drunk, and which is a hostility in general to women."

Then on November 6, 1950, after a heavy night's drinking, he returned to the Foreign Office for duty, and was promptly appointed Head of the American Department.

This appointment, under the circumstances, was the subject of comment in the House of Commons on June 11 by Mr. Eden.

Following a statement by Mr. Morrison, then Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden said: "After Mr. Maclean's breakdown and then he remarks that when he received the appointment as head of the American Department."

Maclean was now a Foreign Office chief. But he spoke bitterly to his friends about Britain's colonies in the Far East and said they should all be given up.

The right hon. Gentleman knows that it is perhaps the heaviest and most onerous post in the Foreign Office at the present time.

Were his advisers absolutely satisfied that when they made their decision Mr. Maclean really had recovered?

Mr. Morrison: There was medical evidence that he had recovered. I would not quite accept the description of the American Department in the way the right hon. Gentleman gives it.

Maclean was now a Foreign Office chief. But he spoke bitterly to his friends about Britain's colonies in the Far East and said they should all be given up.

And then a friend called on Cyril Connolly and reported that Maclean had asked him: "What would you do if I told you I was a Communist agent?"

Maclean added: "Well, I am." On the following day the incident seemed preposterous.

In April 1951, according to Connolly, Maclean took down a friend who was siding against Alger Hiss, the American State Department official who was unmasked as a Soviet agent. Muttered Maclean: "I am the English Hiss."

There were these two men, Burgess and Maclean, both neurotic perverts, both with a history of Communist sympathies, both boasting at some time of espionage. And on May 28, 1951, they vanished together from the sight of the western world.

Was the Foreign Office bewildered at their motive? The Foreign Office know why they went. Where they went, the Foreign Office would not say. In September 1951 it is time now to see what the security authorities had been doing.

CHAPTER IV

Security in Action

O FEBRUARY 9, 1950, while Maclean was still in Cairo, while Burgess was still in the Far Eastern Department of the Foreign Office, and a year after the Foreign Office had its first hint of a leakage, there came a momentous event in the history of British security.

Dr. Klaus Fuchs, atom spy, was arrested in London and charged at Bow Street. And now recall the date of Maclean's breakdown in Cairo—March 1950, the month Fuchs was sentenced to 14 years' jail.

Was Maclean "round the bend" with worry lest Fuchs talk—and incriminate him?

And is that so far fetched when it is remembered that Maclean was at Trinity Hall with that other atom spy, Nunn May, and that on W. H. Auden's evidence, Burgess, also at Cambridge at the time, stayed a close friend of Nunn May?

We shall examine these and other links. But first let us see how the security organisations approached the problem of a known leakage of information, a leakage which was to culminate in the open defection of the diplomats.

This is the relevant passage in the White Paper:

"In January 1949 the security authorities received a report that certain Foreign Office information had leaked to the Soviet authorities some years earlier. The report amounted to little more than a hint and it was at the time impossible to attribute the leak to any particular individual. Highly secret but widespread and protracted enquiries were begun by the security authorities and the field of suspicion had been narrowed by mid-April 1951 to two or three persons. From the beginning of May, Maclean had come to be regarded as the principal suspect."

There was, however, even at that time, no legally admissible evidence to support a prosecution under the Official Secrets Act. Arrangements were made to ensure that information of exceptional secrecy and importance should not come into his hands.

In the meantime the security authorities arranged to

investigate his activities and contacts in order to increase their background knowledge and, if possible, to obtain information which could be used as evidence in a prosecution.

On May 25, the then Secretary of State, Mr. Herbert Morrison, sanctioned a proposal that the security authorities should question Maclean.

In reaching this decision it had to be borne in mind that such questioning might produce a confession or a voluntary statement from Maclean which could be used in a prosecution, but might serve only to identify him and to reveal the nature and extent of the suspected leakage.

In that event he would have been free to make arrangements to leave the country and the authorities would have had no legal power to stop him.

Everything therefore depended on the interview and the security authorities were anxious to be as fully prepared as was humanly possible.

They were also anxious that Maclean's house in Kent should be searched and this was an additional reason for delaying the proposed interview until mid-June when Mrs. Maclean, who was then pregnant, was expected to be away from home.

It was now clear that in spite of the caution taken by the authorities, Maclean must have been aware at some time before his disappearance that he was under investigation.

One explanation may be that he observed that he was no longer receiving certain types of secret papers, or it is also possible that he detected that he was under observation. Or he may have been warned.

Searching enquiries involving individual interviews were made into his activities. Insufficient evidence was obtainable to form a definite conclusion or to warrant prosecution.

Tatfield is in Sun

600

Randolph Churchill: 'A passport can be confiscated without any explanation. It is disingenuous of the Government to affect the contrary'

Macleane's absence did not become known to the authorities until the morning of Monday, May 28.

"Burgess was on leave and under no obligation to report his movements."

Macleane then had become a "principal suspect." But what of surveillance was this, as practised by Britain's security authorities?

Randolph Churchill wrote in the *London Evening Standard*:

"Even when Mr. Morrison had agreed that Maclean should be questioned, the security authorities decided to take no immediate action as they wished to wait till Mrs. Maclean had left her house to have a baby before they searched it for incriminating evidence."

Are M.I.5 [British agency for internal security] really incapable of searching anything except an empty house? Would it have been beyond their wit to have induced one of the Maclean servants to have quit their employment and to have introduced their own agent into the house?

This would not only have achieved the object of the search but would have provided that surveillance at his country home which the White Paper professes could not have been undertaken without arousing Maclean's suspicions.

Another point of crucial import arises in this connection. If there is danger of surveillance arousing a suspect's apprehensions and if it is thought that by withholding top-secret matter from him he may be prompted to flee, it is surely an elementary maxim of counter-espionage that the suspect's apprehensions be deliberately aroused at a moment when he, his friends and his haunts are all under the closest observation?

If the suspect is guilty he may well give himself away completely.

"To this the White Paper's answer is that there was no means of stopping Maclean from leaving the country. This is the most flagrantly misleading statement in the whole of the White Paper."

A passport can be confiscated without any explanation. It is disingenuous of the Government to affect the contrary.

The *Times* found many contradictions and obscurities in the White Paper in regard to the security services.

At one point it follows the previous official line that Maclean, after his riotous outburst in Canada in May 1950, was given a not very important job in the Foreign Office. Although head of the American Department, he was not dealing with the major problems of Anglo-American relations.

But after this comforting suggestion that no harm could be done, there comes the statement that once Maclean was suspected, arrangements were made to ensure that information of exceptional secrecy and importance should not come into his hands.

The paper tries equally to have it both ways on the circumstances of the two men's departure from England.

At one point it says that they left for "official sanction" for going abroad as though they had taken "official" notice of the authorities who would have suspected them. At another point it declares that both men were free to go abroad at any time.

Again the paper contains no suggestion that Burgess was suspected of being a spy until he left the country, yet it goes on to say that the security authorities were on their track of Burgess as well as Maclean. Which is it, then?

CHAPTER V

They Vanish

THE FIRST HINT that Guy Burgess was in some sort of panic came in a letter to his friend Jack Hewitt. Burgess wrote—as he was about to leave America for home:

I am terrified that there may be a war. Very seriously and for the first time. And soon I sail on the Queen Mary leaving on the 1st May.

"I am terrified that there may be a war. Very seriously and for the first time. And soon I sail on the Queen Mary leaving on the 1st May."

On May 7, 1951, Guy Burgess landed at Southampton. His friends learned that he had struck a new friendship in

the *Queen Mary*—one that was to play a role in the disappearance of the diplomat less than three weeks later.

Burgess had met and befriended a young American student named Bernard Miller. And Burgess told other friends he intended to go with Miller to France for a holiday. The date of their sailing was arranged for midnight on May 25.

Miller meantime stayed at the Green Park Hotel in London. Burgess stayed at his own flat in New Bond Street with Hewitt.

Hewitt said later that soon after Burgess moved into the flat he spoke of a young married friend in trouble. And he telephoned Lady Maclean and asked her when he could get in touch with her son, Donald.

Significantly, Burgess did not ask the Foreign Office for this information. Nor did he attempt to telephone Maclean at the Foreign Office.

Burgess after contacting Maclean had through a telephone call to somebody in America, Hewitt has said, the call cost £7 (\$19.60). Guy left the bill unpaid and I had to meet it. But Hewitt did not know who his caller received the bill.

On the night of May 24, Burgess telephoned Stephen